1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

648 tax of four annas to the Kurumbas, and, if a Kurumba comes to a Badaga hatti (village), a subscription is raised as an inducement to him to take his departure. The Kurumba receives a fee for every Badaga funeral, and for the pregnancy ceremony (kannikattu).

It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "the Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas, but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter. In some cases, Todas, have been killed by Badagas owing to this belief."

• 234 Among the Todas, the duties of milking the buffaloes and dairy-work are entrusted to special individuals, whereas any Badaga male may, after initiation, milk the cows and buffaloes, provided that he is free from pollution. Every Badaga boy, when he is about seven or nine years old, is made to milk a cow on an auspicious day, or on new year's day. The ceremony is thus described by Mr. Natesa Sastri. "Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony, the boy is bathed, and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo, with her calf, stands before his house, waiting to be milked. The parents, or other elder relations of the boy, and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father, or some one of the agnatic kindred, gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called honē, which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands, and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy,

852 (234)

(868)

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

852 (868) sitting down, milks a small quantity into the honē. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking, and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the honē is previously filled almost to the brim. The boy takes the vessel filled with milk into his house, and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken up on himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk in the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly, and bless him, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes, and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this, the boy enters the milk-house (hāgōttu), and places milk in his honē there. From this moment, and all through his life, he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony."

• 234 788 A cow or buffalo, which has calved for the first time, has to be treated in a special manner. For three or five days it is not milked. A boy is then selected to milk it. He must not sleep on a mat, or wear a turban, and, instead of tying his cloth round his waist, must wear (784) it loosely over his body. Meat is forbidden, and he must avoid, and not speak to polluting classes, such as Irulas and Kotas, and menstruating women. On the (783) (824) day appointed for milking the animal, the boy bathes, and proceeds to milk it into a new honē purified by smearing a paste of *Meliosma* (tūd) leaves and bark over it, and heating it over a fire. The milk is taken to 782 a stream, where three cups are made of *Argyreia* (mīnige) 788 leaves, into which a small quantity of the milk is placed. (234) The cups are then put in the water. The remainder of the milk in the honē is also poured into the stream. In some places, especially where a Mādeswara temple is

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

half-a-dozen of the common patterns (1876: 195). These designs, made up of dots, dashes, crescents and circles, were also to be seen on the shoulders of some women, and the forearm and back of the hand were commonly tattooed as well. Although it was obligatory it was never an occasion for ceremony. The technique calls for an older woman, Badaga or otherwise, to etch the pattern on the skin with a thorn from one of two plants, the common Nilgiri barberry or the Bengal currant. Pins and needles are used now. The pigment used is finely powdered charcoal from the bottom of a pot, or else lamp black, mixed with rice gruel (Thurston 1909: 82). Afterwards an oil is put on to the wounds. Rhiem (1900: 504) adds that a silver finger-ring is plunged into a corrosive black liquid and then pressed against tattoo wounds. Shoulder, wrist and hand tattoos may be added later, even after marriage, while a woman is in the menstrual hut. Men are never present for a tattooing.

(*i*) *Milking Initiation*. Nothing ceremonial happens to a boy between his naming and head shaving in infancy, and the initiation into adult work between the ages of seven and nine. This involves his ceremonial milking of a buffalo (Natesa Sastri 1892: 757-58; Francis 1908: 131; Thurston 1909: 87-88; "Miles" 1933: 73).

(*j*) *Lingayat Initiation*. Boys of the several Lingayat clans, including the Wodeya phratry, undergo a ceremony of investiture of the *linga* at about their 13th year. A *pu:ja* is performed and the boys learn a prayer (Natesa Sastri 1892: 758-60; Thurston 1909: 90-93). Today the ceremony, which is always to be done in an odd-numbered year of a boy's life, occurs even as early as his fifth year.

(*k*) *Puberty Rites*. Menarche is marked by complicated observations, as explained above (3.11); but for a boy's puberty there is no observance whatsoever.

Childhood Maladies

5.23. Whatever may seem to be wrong with an infant it is given no medicines until its fifth month. If necessary before then a medicine may be given to its mother, in the expectation that the child will derive a benefit from it through her milk. This is the case for example if a child is affected by a "bad wind."

In earlier days a thread with 108 knots in it

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

thigh, an ulcer on the knee and extensive cellulitis of the calf muscle caused the most excruciating pain at the slightest movement. She had been in this state at home for over a month, quite neglected by the family. . . . We opened the abscesses and gave penicillin in large doses. For over two months she had to be treated. . ." (Ketti Medical Mission 1953: 4-5). 164

6.45. Badaga youths once used to engage in a non-ceremonial procedure designed to strengthen their wrists so that they could manage to milk large numbers of buffalo. A fire was made by rubbing fire-sticks together, during the dry summer months when men were out on the downland grazing their herds. A helper would then take a piece of glowing charcoal and burn one or two lines across the arms just above the back of the wrists. The burns were then left to heal (Thurston 1909: 83). Something similar was done with a branding iron on the front thighs of oxen, with a view to making them strong for ploughing. 826 164 234 825

FRACTURE (*oḍeda ilu*)

6.46. The Badaga technique for setting bones involves first feeling to discover whether a bone is broken. If it is, the therapist manipulates it until it is in the correct position. She then collects either Jamaican switch sorrel or eucalyptus leaves and ties a thick pad of them at the point of fracture. For a broken arm or leg two or three splints of wood are then tied along the limb, or a bamboo milk container (*aṇḍe*) is split in two for this purpose. The patient rests for three days and nights without moving the limb. After that the therapist removes the splints and leaves, and checks the fracture by manipulation. If it is not yet repaired another pad of leaves is tied on with splints for a further three days. This process may have to be repeated often, for larger bones can take a month to heal. In the case of a fractured rib, cranium or jaw, the leaves are ground up and applied as a thick paste to the fracture. A cloth is then tied over 752

433 employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by
648) tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 The Bergani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is
478 maintained at the Bergani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess
476) Masthi Mathai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-
482) temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate
546) III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred
478 room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the
482) goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pil-
493) grims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with
888) aligned fireplaces.

Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the
34 arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later
478 chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are
317) supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees.
448) Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring
34 the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks
478 after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-
493 temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Masthi Mathai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are polluting, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However, women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vegetables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring anything made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season (karbokan) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive. Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal

234 [361] [221] [177] centers called hundis, which consist of temporarily occupied huts and cattle-pens. The hundis, located on western upper Nilgiri grasslands, are inhabited while buffaloes and cattle are grazed near them in the dry season (Figure 2). The herds are brought westward in February or March and are herded eastward in May or June. During the days of the British Raj and before large grassland tracts had been planted with acacia or eucalyptus trees, there were more hundis than at present. A listing of former hundis known to Ithalar and Nanjanad Badagas, along with abandoned hundi sites seen during fieldword, testify to this fact.

234 656 All persons using hundis must obtain grazing permits from the Madras Forest Department in Ootacamund. A basic fee of 2.50 rupees and an additional charge of 50 nayapice (100 nayapice equal one rupee) per buffalo and 25 nayapice per cattle head is paid for a three-month permit. Badagas using grasslands must follow all the Madras Forest Department and Nilgiri Game Association regulations. Because the [177] Madras Forest Department desires to end, slowly and tactfully, the use of hundis, opportunities are pressed when Badagas living in them are found trespassing the law. Grazing permits may then be revoked, but a series of fines will also discourage Badagas from using the western grasslands.

234 361 The occupance pattern at each hundi is basically the same, but there is no distinct hut type associated with hundis. In establishing Bhavani Hundi, used in 1963, Badagas took full advantage of terrain (Figure 11). The hundi is located in an area with more grassland than shola, where no trees have been planted yet (Plate III, C). The cattle-pen is bound by steep slopes down to two streams, a piled stone

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 67]

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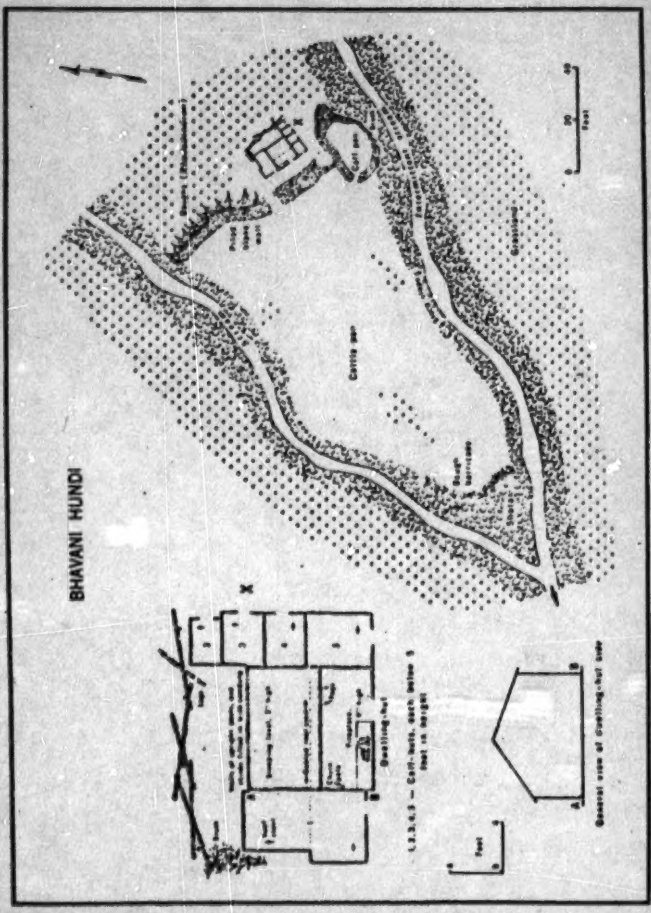

Figure 11. A Badaga seasonal livestock center

234 wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping
361 level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace
(342) set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Hundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive shola (Figure 12). Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a
(343) dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was
234 contacted by the writer (Plate III, D). The seven men taking turns
361 in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle.
(221) Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural
234 season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the
439 upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy.
(484) The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a distance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were
262 obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund
(439) shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also
234 formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 691

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Figure 12. Another Badaga seasonal livestock center

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

B 234 morning, but this was due to the fact that pasturage was poor at the time (March). The herders expected grazing to improve as new grass sprang up from ground they had burned over. Herding is a simple task, unless there is a panther or tiger in the vicinity. Livestock may be left for long periods after being driven out in the morning and will usually graze their way home in the evening.

Ka 433 G48 Ka (101) Ka 162 Badaga-Kasuva livestock centers. Kasuvas living in the Mysore Ditch between the Nilgiri massif and Moyar River (Figures 1 and 2) work on plantations in the area, serve Badagas as livestock herders, and sometimes cultivate their own dry field crops with hoes and plows. As the Kasuvas are also called Irulas, it is likely that they represent an offshoot Irula group which finally assumed a lower caste standing. Kasuvas have seldom been mentioned in the censuses. However, 316 persons who spoke the Kasuva language were listed in 1891, and 290 Kasuvas were enumerated in 1911 (Rao 1909: 178; Moloney 1912: 83). There are probably fewer than 500 Kasuvas now living in the Nilgiri District.

Ka 234 (361) Ka (136) Despite biotic disturbances caused by annual fires and grazing, several livestock centers where Kasuvas take care of Badaga cattle are within savanna woodlands rather than on open grasslands. Other centers are situated amidst bamboo and thorny thickets in which there are grasses and adequate shade for livestock. Herds of elephants (Elephas maximus L.) and gaurs range over the area. Pens for holding livestock at night are constructed with posts and lashed on poles or bamboos, often surrounded by brush piled densely to a height of six feet or

Ka 234 Ka 342 (350) Ka (234) (513) Ka (234)

more (Plate III, E). Large ovoid pens are typical; one measuring 110 feet by 80 feet was observed. Dwellings built next to pens are often of a side-gabled type with thatched roof. Their walls are of stone and clay, woven bamboo, or woven bamboo and daub (Figure 13). A central section opened to the front has a shallow platform and occasionally a fireplace. Herders use this section to churn milk or produce clarified butter. They sleep on the platform in hot weather, and sometimes sit there close to a fire while observing elephants at night. To one side of the central section there is a sleeping room and to the other a calf room, but additional calf rooms may be built into the dwelling at either or both ends. Kasuvas also live in dwellings varying from the one generally associated with livestock centers. A small, front-gabled dwelling forms a distinct type (Figure 13). This has a steep-sided thatched roof, and half the structure usually lacks walls (Plate III, F). The remaining half with woven bamboo or woven bamboo and daub walls has a fireplace set into a low platform located next to two walls.

B 234 648 Ka 463 648 592 B Ka 648 B (234) Ka (465)

Buffaloes and cattle are herded by Kasuvas working for Badagas, but at periodic intervals Badaga masters from the upper Nilgiris tend to spend some time with their livestock. Badaga wives and children do not come down, but entire Kasuva families live in the livestock centers. Badagas pay Kasuvas for their services with cash and in kind. One interviewed Kasuva family received six rupees per week plus Badaga-grown grain and vegetables, while another family received ten rupees per week plus Badaga agricultural products. Furthermore, frequent issues of rice and yearly issues of clothing are given. On a

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
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Madras Tribes AW63
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special occasion such as marriage, gifts are usually bestowed.

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Unlike the upper Nilgiri hunting, livestock centers in the Mysore Ditch are used all year. Before livestock may be herded, a general permit costing three rupees and a charge of 25 nayapice per buffalo or cattle head must be paid annually to the Forest Department in Cotacamund. Comparatively large herds are kept. At one livestock center in 1963 there were ten buffaloes and 150 cattle, while 40 buffaloes and 140 cattle were kept at another. Excess of cattle over buffaloes may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Mysore Ditch is a rather dry region. The livestock centers are used for breeding,

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(234)

and grass near them provides alternate grazing for Badaga livestock. Frequent livestock movements between the upper Nilgiris and Mysore Ditch thus takes place. Dry cows are taken down, and good milk yielders are brought back up. When grazing is poor on the upper Nilgiris, but better in the virtually uninhabited Mysore Ditch, livestock will be sent down in larger numbers. There are always some milk yielders in the Mysore Ditch livestock centers, so dairying is a

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necessary activity. Milk and buttermilk may be consumed by Kasuva caretakers. Clarified butter carried up by Badagas or Kasuvas is either sold or consumed by Badagas.

3. The Kotas

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Kotas have taken advantage of the temperate grasslands to only a limited degree.

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 (175) Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
234 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men
462 in the sacred hagotus within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for
434 a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle,
771 as demonstrated at Bergani, are also present in communities. Monday,
796 Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this